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641 the right and freedom of citizens to write, publish, or otherwise express their views, except such as are in accord with the given party-line. For the exercise of this right, the state places at the disposal of the "working classes and their organizations, printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets (and) communication facilities." Freedom of speech is furthermore restricted by the provisions of the Law for the Defense of Peace, enacted on December 15, 1950. Article 2 of this Law specifically prohibits "propaganda inciting to war, the spreading of tendentious or invented news, of a nature to serve the warmongers, etc. . . ."

[204] Freedom of the press and publication is likewise nonexistent. Two directorates attached to the Council of Ministers are charged with complete supervision over the press, publications of any sort, and their distribution. The Directorate of the Press and Printed Matter, established on May 23, 1949 (Decree No. 218) "authorizes the publication of all printed matter;" the General Directorate of Publishing, Graphic Arts Industry, Book and Press Distribution, established on March 16, 1950 (decree No. 62), "controls the output of publishing houses from the point of view of contents and form." The Communist press is furthermore restricted to the services of the AGERPRESS (the Rumanian Press Agency) which by virtue of Decree No. 217 of May 23, 1949, is the only agency permitted to receive and transmit news. Aside from the nationalization of all printing presses, a governmental decision (Decision No. 69 of the Ministry of the Interior, July 1, 1950) requires the registration with the militia of all hand printing presses, duplicating machines, and "materials needed for the reproduction of printed matter," owned by individuals or associations.

[515] Freedom of assembly is similarly controlled. Excepting the Communist-controlled mass organizations, viz., public organizations, co-operative societies, youth and women's organizations, etc. (Article 86), no independent organization or association is permitted. Anyone attempting to organize or participate in such an organization is liable to prosecution by virtue of Article 86 of the Constitution, prohibiting the organization of or the participation in associations of a "fascist" or "anti-democratic" character. Such participation would furthermore entail "plotting against the internal and external security" of the state, an offense punishable by death under Article 1 of the Law for Punishing Certain Crimes Which Endanger the Security of the State of January 19, 1949.

611 461 The right to work is guaranteed by the "socialist transformation" of the economy and the "elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment" (Article 77). The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the reduction of the working hours to eight in factories and offices and to less in the more arduous trades.[5] This right is supplemented by

[5] The constitutional provisions relating to the reduction of working hours are puzzling in the light of the introduction of the piece-work system and norms of production (Labor Code of May 20, 1950) and the adoption of the Soviet model of "Stachanovism" and "voluntary labor."

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the establishment of rest-homes, sanatoria, and cultural establishments (Article 78). The right to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or disability is ensured by the development of social insurance and free medical service (Article 79). The right to education is ensured by universal, compulsory, and free elementary education and by the system of state scholarships awarded to deserving students (Article 80).[6] Equality of rights in all spheres of economic, political, and cultural activity is guaranteed to all citizens irrespective of their nationality, sex, or race. Any transgression of these provisions by the manifestation of race-hatred, chauvinism, or discrimination is punishable by law (Article 81).[7]

Some distinction was made at the beginning with regard to the German ethnic group, which had actively collaborated with Nazi Germany. The original decision to expel the Germans from the country, however, was officially changed in December, 1948, when the Rumanian Communist Party decided to replace the denunciation of the German minority as a whole and encourage instead the class struggle within its ranks. The resolution of the Party maintained that the "struggle against their own bourgeoisie . . . (would) open a new perspective to the German working population of Rumania, working alongside the Rumanian people and other nationalities."[8]

Whereas at the beginning Zionism enjoyed a tremendous popularity and even received latent, if not active, support from the Communist-dominated government during the Jewish-Anglo-Arab disturbances in Palestine, the above quoted resolution on the national question also declared:

"Zionism of any color is a political nationalist and reactionary movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie, which tries to isolate the Jewish working people from the other peoples and to hinder them in their struggle against capitalism in the ranks of the anti-imperialist camp."

Notwithstanding the legal and constitutional provisions relating to the defense of the rights of nationalities and minorities,[9] the official policies of the Communist Party in regard to these questions have been based on the tenets of Leninism-Stalinism. While the development of national cultures and the use of national languages in all the fields of cultural and political endeavors are encouraged, the guiding principle is that of "socialism." "Na-

[6] The system of education underwent drastic changes. See "The Perversion of Education in Rumania" published by the Rumanian National Committee, Washington, D.C., July, 1950.

[7] See Law No. 86 of February 7, 1945 (Statute for Nationalities) and Law No. 630 of August 6, 1945, in the Yearbook on Human Rights for 1946, United Nations, (1947) 248–49 and 249–51, respectively.

[8] La Roumanie Nouvelle, Bucharest, No. 14, December 30, 1948.

[9] As an apparent concession to the Hungarian minority in Rumania, the Constitution also provides for the establishment of a Magyar Autonomous Region (Articles 19–21) in the territory inhabited by compact Magyar and Székely population, including the districts of Ciuc, Gheorgheni, Odorhei, Reghin, Sangiorgiu de Padure, Sft. Gheorghe, Targu-Mures, Targu-Secuesc and Toplita.

554 563 districts. Thus in the Banat, and Transylvania, the Germans and Magyars dominate commerce and industry and Magyar influence has been so powerful that it has practically assimilated the Jews. In the lower Danubian ports and at Constantsa, it is the Greeks and Armenians who form the largest section of the commercial community, though in certain Danubian ports the Jewish element predominates.

461 These facts would tend unequivocally to show that the Rumanians do not possess the necessary perseverance that is indispensable for those who desire to engage in commerce. It would appear, too, that the French educational system which they have adopted helps to foster a contempt for all occupations which are not purely intellectual, and for these reasons Rumanians who claim to have received some degree of education look askance on all manual work. This apparent aversion for commerce explains to a certain extent the absence of a Rumanian middle class, an absence which ought to be remedied, for the country is deprived of a useful steadying element which is indispensable for its normal development. As things are, it possesses a small superficial leading class, that cannot be said to compensate by its quality for its lack of quantity, and a huge mass of almost illiterate peasants that lags far behind. The example of Russia proves the danger that exists for a community which shows such an unstable equilibrium of classes. A solution of the problem would consist in attracting the Jews from the occupations to which they have hitherto been restricted. The Jewish problem in Russia has been solved by adapting the Jews to industry and agriculture. An exceedingly instructive and interesting article entitled "Soviet Russia solves the Jewish Problem," from the pen of Mr Wm. Zukerman, and published in the "Contemporary Review" for Dec., 1931, may well supply useful hints for Rumania. There is no doubt that if the Jews in Rumania enjoyed greater freedom of action they would not concentrate all their activities on commerce, and they would thereby offer to Rumanians more possibilities and better opportunities to engage in trade than they now possess.

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000 no better than a pig." If we take into consideration that according to L. T. Hobhouse " the whole system of moral tradition governing the life of a society is evolved from the practical impulses and feelings at work in the past and present," we may easily comprehend that the aspects of social life as revealed by current events in Rumania, show a natural process which could not be altered or deflected except by titanic efforts of re-education. We have no right, therefore, to blame the Rumanians for what we may consider to be grave lapses, but which they prefer to interpret differently, for after all, as A. R. Wallace affirms in his " Social Environment and Moral Progress," " morality is not wholly due to any inherent perception of right or wrong conduct, but is to some extent a matter of convention varying with the degree and kind of social development attained." And this opinion is confirmed by L. T. Hobhouse, who, in his book " Morals in Evolution " states " the instinctive in human morality is by no means an unfailing power implanted by nature in all men to distinguish right from wrong." Rumanian youth continues to cherish the traditional Phanariot ambition of enriching itself through access to a public post; other careers are neglected and looked askance at. They are left to the more enterprising Jewish element, which owing to its energy and capacity has taken complete control of Rumanian trade and banking. Through the neglect of the commercial professions, Rumanians have hampered the formation of a middle class which, more than any other element, is conducive to the creation of stability and a vigilant public opinion. The public functionary class is an unstable element, and as it enjoys no security of office but depends for its tenure on the favours of politicians in power, it naturally follows that it easily lends itself to corruption, and all the more so seeing that it is disgracefully underpaid. In a lettter published by the " Argus " on 16th May, 1932, it was averred that the number of public functionaries amounted to 500,000. (Including the staff employed by municipalities). The number could easily be halved, and the administration would stand to gain both in efficiency and thoroughness by such a reduction. Greece, with a population amounting to one-third that of Rumania, had a

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241 really intended to revert to a régime of legality and to the
426 granting of adequate security to foreign capital, there would
453 be hardly any difficulties in its obtaining the necessary aid from abroad in order to permit the establishment of such an institution, and in order to save time it would be politic on its part if without further delay it took the requisite steps to prepare a cadastral register or ground-book. Such measures of self-aid would prove more efficacious than the solicitation at international conferences of preferential rates for Rumanian agricultural produce. For they would help to convince foreign investors that Rumania had at last decided to put her house in order, a decision which, if seriously taken, would probably cause foreign capital to come to her aid and bring to her corresponding or equal advantages to those she would derive from the obtaining of the preferential rates for which she is now craving as a favour from industrial States. There are no insuperable obstacles to the salving of Rumanian agriculture. All that is needed is cheap credit and the lowering of the cost of industrial products used by
241 the peasantry. These *desiderata* may be secured whenever
461 the Government decides to change its methods and adopt as its guiding principles honesty, retrenchment, and austerity. After all, the peasants have done more than their share, and no greater effort can be demanded of them. One who has witnessed the long heartbreak of endless and often unrequited labour that has been their lot, and the fortitude with which they have faced the apathy the State has so far shown towards them, can have no doubts as to the response a little encouragement would evoke from them. Without decent seed grain, and with the most primitive implements, it was but natural that the yield per hectare should decrease. Nevertheless, the steady although small increase of the area under cultivation is a convincing proof that the peasants have never stinted their labour and that they are determined to persist to the extreme limits of human endurance in their efforts to wrest a bare subsistence from the soil. The following table will be found to confirm fully what has been stated
241 above, namely, that while the area cultivated has been
433 maintained, the yield per hectare is on the whole diminishing: